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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an analysis of Choctaw morphology based on the orthographical system described by the same author (See FL 002 864). The author begins with a discussion of the articles, cases, and conjunctions of Choctaw, considering their forms and uses. A consideration of independent and dependent personal pronouns follows and forms the basis for the analysis of other elements in the language. The various series of dependent pronouns, operating as affixes, combine with other parts of speech to complete the meaning of a form. The author discusses the role of the dependent pronouns in nouns, adjectives, and verbs, while illustrating characteristics of the types in each of these forms. The consideration of the verb involves a discussion of participles and causatives as well as a system of verbal infixes. The final topic concerns commands and exhortations. Morphophonemic changes are considered through out the discussion. (VM)

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CHOCTAW MORPHOLOGY

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and

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I. INTRODUCTION

This description of Choctaw morphology or word structure is based on the spelling of words provided by 'A Choctaw Orthography', written by the same author for the Choctaw Bilingual Education Program implemented jointly by Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma, and the McCurtain County Superintendent of Schools. It is the second part of a series of which 'A Choctaw Orthography' is the first. The third part covers Choctaw syntax or sentence structure.

We define here a few terms.

Morpheme A sound or sequence of sounds which has a meaning, and which cannot be broken up into smaller segments which have meanings, is called a morpheme. For example, the word hattak 'man' is a single morpheme, because we cannot break it into smaller parts with meanings. The word chipisali 'I see you' has three morphemes: chi- 'you, pisa 'to see', and -li 'I'. The word osaposhi 'garden' has two morphemes: osapa 'field' and -oshi 'little'. The words yaloba 'leech', issoba 'horse' and shokshobak 'gourd' are composed of yala 'grubworm', issi 'deer' and shokshi 'melon' with the ending -oba 'like it (grubworm, deer, melon) only bigger'; in addition, shokshobak has a final morpheme -k.

Affix and Root When a word can be broken up into a number of morphemes, one of the morphemes is a root, and the others are affixes. The main part is the root, and we say that the affixes are added on to the root. In the examples above, hattak, pisa, osapa, yala, issi, and shokshi are roots; chi-, -li, -oshi, -oba, and -k are affixes.

Prefix Suffix Infix If an affix is added to the front of a word, it is a prefix; chi- is a prefix. When prefixes are written alone, we add a dash after them. If an affix is added to the end of the word, it is a suffix; -li, -oshi, -oba, and -k are suffixes. When suffixes are written alone, we place a dash in front of them. If an affix is added in the inside of a root, it is an infix. If we add the infix -lh- to the word hoponi 'to cook'; we get holhponi 'hominy soup'; -lh- is an infix because it goes inside the root.

Enclitic Proclitic Some morphemes are attached to words, but they are not attached as firmly as affixes are. If they attach to the end of the preceding word they are enclitics. The tense morphemes of Choctaw are enclitics; for example, -tok 'recent past tense' and -t tok 'remote past tense', as in chipisali-tok 'I saw you (recently)' and chipisali-t tok 'I saw you (some time ago)' are enclitics. If a morpheme attaches to the front of the word which follows, it is a proclitic. Some of the subject pronoun morphemes, such as ish- 'you' in ish-hokchi 'you plant it'.

We will generally use a dash to separate an enclitic or a proclitic from a root: normally we will not separate affixes in this way, except for clarity in some examples.

II. THE ARTICLES AND CASES

The Choctaw language has a great many articles. The use of the articles--their meanings--is very difficult for the non-native speaker to understand. The meanings given them here are only tentative.

We use the term 'article' for morphemes and combinations of morphemes which can translate the English words a an the this that these those. In English we saw these three big trees; in Choctaw the order is the reverse: trees big three these or iti hochito tochchina ilappat.

Besides translating the English words mentioned above, the articles take the case suffixes. The two case suffixes are -t and -n; the subject of the sentence takes -t, the object takes -n. After the contrastive article o, the nominative case is -sh, as in hattak osh 'a man'. The case suffix -n, unless followed by o, simply indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized.

Sometimes, to add emphasis, a suffix -o follows the case suffix, as in hattak mato 'that man'.

The most common articles are listed below in the order in which they usually occur. A dash after an article indicates that the case suffix can be added to it.

1. atok (with long a)
2. ok
3. a- ma- yamma- pa- ilappa-
4. oka- (with long o)
5. o- ash o- inlih

The articles on line 3 have approximately the following meanings (there is some dialect variation in the meanings); a- 'a, the'; ma- 'that,

those'; yamma- 'that, those'; pa- 'this these'; ilappa- 'this, these'. These articles can be used alone with the case suffixes; the emphatic suffix -o can be added. The forms appear in Chart I

CHART I

at	ato	an	ano
mat	mato	man	mano
yammat	yammato	yamman	yammano
pat	pato	pan	pano
ilappat	ilappato	ilappan	ilappano
Nominative		Objective	

The article oka-, which is difficult to define, has the same four forms as ma-: okat okato okan okano.

The two articles o- and ash o- of line 5 take -sh instead of -t in the nominative case. The article o- is sometimes used to mean 'a', but usually indicates strong contrast. The article ash o- means something like 'the aforementioned'. They cannot take the emphatic suffix -o, so they have the following nominative and objective forms:

ash osh	ash on
osh	on

Any of the articles on lines 3 and 4 (a-, ma-, yamma-, pa-, ilappa-, oka) can be followed by the articles on line 5 (o-, ash o-, inlih). When this happens, they take the suffix -k as in ak mak yammak pak ilappak okak. Using mak as an example, we find the forms in Chart II.

CHART II

mak ash osh	mak ash on
mak osh	mak on
mak inlih	mak inlih

Similarly, we have the following forms of the other articles

a-: ak osh, ak on, ak inlih

yamma-: yammak ash osh, yammak ash on, yammak osh, yammak on, yammak inlih

pa-: pak ash osh, pak ash on, pak osh, pak on, pak inlih

ilappa-: ilappak ash osh, ilappak ash on, ilappak osh, ilappak on, ilappak inlih

oka-: okak osh, okak on

The articles on lines 1 and 2 (atok, ok) cannot occur alone, but are usually followed by some form of ma- or oka-; less commonly, they are followed by one of the other articles of line 3. We give some of the forms in Chart III.

CHART III

atok mat	atok mato
ok mat	ok mato
atok ok mat	atok ok mato
atok okat	atok okato
atok mak osh	
atok okak osh	
atok ok mak osh	
atok mak ash osh	
atok mak okak osh	
atok mak inlih	
atok mak okat, atok mak okato	

atok man	atok mano
ok man	ok mano
atok ok man	atok ok mano
atok okan	atok okano
atok mak on	
atok okak on	
atok ok mak osh	
atok mak ash on	
atok mak okak on	
atok mak inlih	
atok mak okan, atok mak okano	

Finally, one more point. The articles which begin with a vowel, namely atok ok a oka ash o and o, sometimes begin with an h or a y. The rules for the use of this h and y are not clear to me. The h is probably part of the preceeding word, though it is commonly spelled as part of the article. This gives the following forms:

hatok	yatok
hok	yok
ha	ya
hoka	yoka
hash o	yash o
ho	yo

as in the following expressions:

hatok osh, yatok osh

hok mat, yok mat

hat, yat

hokat, yokat

hash osh, yash osh

hosh, yosh

These are but a few of the most common articles and combinations of articles.

III. THE CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are words or groups of words which join words, phrases or clauses. For example, the conjunction and joins two words in Tom and Jane, two phrases in the old man and his sons, and two clauses in John went to town and I stayed here. Other English conjunctions are but, or, and so, therefore, in order to, if...then.., and then, when, and while.

Like the articles, Choctaw conjunctions can take the case suffixes. Some of them have different forms to indicate different tenses. As in the case of articles, the uses of the conjunctions are often bewildering to the native speaker of English—it is hard to pin their meanings down. The meanings we give here are tentative.

But

As in English, the conjunction 'but' is often left out, as in the following sentences:

Oka ilappat lashpa kiyo, kapassa. This water is not hot, it's cold.

Oka ilappat lashpa kiyo, pi libisha. This water is not hot, it's just warm.

The most common form of the conjunction 'but' is made out of the articles okak o- and ak o-. These have both nominative and objective cases, so the complete forms are as follows:

okak osh	okak on
ak osh	ak on

These conjunctions appear in the following examples:

Tamaha iya hokak osh, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town, but he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya hokak on, anttali-tok.

He went to town, but I stayed home.

Yayali-achin amahoba-tok ak osh, akyayo ki-tok.

I thought I was going to cry, but I didn't.

Omba-achin amahoba-tok ak on, ikombo ki-tok.

I thought it was going to rain, but it didn't.

Notice that if the second clause has a new subject, the objective case is used; if the second clause repeats the subject of the first clause, the nominative case is used. All conjunctions use the cases in this way. Notice also that ak o- is used after the past tense enclitic -tok; otherwise okak o- is used.

Most conjunctions are attached to the first clause, as in the above examples, where the comma follows the conjunction. To begin a sentence with a conjunction, the verb yohmi 'to do, be so, happen' is used, as in the following examples:

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi hokak osh, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town. But he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi hokak on, anttali-tok.

He went to town. But I stayed home.

Yayali-achin amahoba-tok. Yohmi-tok ak osh, akyayo ki-tok.

I thought I was going to cry. But I didn't.

Omba-achin amahoba-tok. Yohmi-tok ak on, ikombo ki-tok.

I thought it was going to rain. But it didn't.

Another conjunction with a similar meaning is ak inlih kiya, which means 'nevertheless' or 'however', and sometimes 'although'.

Tamaha iya-tok ak inlih kiya, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

Although he went to town, he didn't buy anything.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi ak inlih kiya, nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

He went to town. However, he didn't buy anything.

Another conjunction meaning 'but' is amba which always begins a sentence:

Amba nanna kiya ikchompo ki-tok.

But he didn't buy anything.

If...Then... and When...Then...

The same conjunction is used in these two meanings; which meaning it has can be determined from the context. The forms of the conjunction are as follows:

ok mat	ok mato	ok man	ok mano
-h mat	-h mato	-h man	-h mano
-k mat	-k mato	-k man	-k mano

Longer forms also occur, such as ok mak osh and ok mak on. Of the forms in the chart above, ok mat seems to be more emphatic, as in 'if ever' or 'whenever', while -h mat and -k mat are simply 'if' or 'when'. -h mat is used in the past tense; -k mat is used in the present and future tense. Examples follow.

Omba-tok ok man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok-ahinla.

If it rained, my wash got wet.

Omba hok man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

If it rains, my wash will get wet.

Ombah man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok.

When it rained, my wash got wet.

Ombak man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

When it rains, my wash will get wet.

Tamaha iyah mat, shapo chompa-tok.

When he went to town, he bought a hat.

Tamaha iyak mat, shapo chompa-achin.

When he goes to town, he will buy a hat.

To begin a sentence with these conjunctions, yohmi is used. Note the following examples:

Omba-tok. Yohmih man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-tok.

It rained. When that happened, my wash got wet.

Omba-achin. Yohmik man, nan ahchifa yat anlacha-achin.

It is going to rain. When that happens, my wash will get wet.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmih mat, shapo chompa-tok.

He went to town. And then, he bought a hat.

Tamaha iya-achin. Yohmik mat, shapo chompa-achin.

He is going to go to town. And then he will buy a hat.

And So, Therefore, Because

This conjunction is built out of the article atok o-. When a sentence is not in the past tense, atok ma- is sometimes used. This conjunction has the following forms:

atok osh	atok on
atok mat	atok man

Note the following examples:

Siabika hatok osh, alikchi imiyali-achin.

I am sick, so I am going for the doctor.

Okchalhlha ak osh i-lawa hoki, pishno ato i-miyah toklo hatok osh.

We blackbirds are many, because we are of two kinds. (From the shokha anompa about the blackbirds and the owls)

Amba hachishno ato miyah chaffa hachia hatok osh, hachilawa kiyo.

But you all [owls] are of one kind, so you are not many. (From the same shokha anompa)

Tamaha iya-tok on, akpiso ki-tok.

He went to town, so I didn't get to see him.

In the last example, notice that the atok has been dropped out of atok on; this happens whenever atok o- follows the past tense endings -tok and -t tok.

This conjunction can also be used to begin a sentence; in that case, it is used with yohmi, as in the following examples.

Siabika. Yohmi hatok osh, alikchi imiyali-achin.

Okchalhlha ak osh i-miyah toklo. Yohmi hatok osh, i-lawa hoki.

Amba hachishno ato miyah chaffa hachia. Yohmi hatok osh, hachilawa kiyo.

Tamaha iya-tok. Yohmi-tok on, akpiso ki-tok.

: And

In Choctaw, when two sentences are joined with the conjunction 'and', the form used depends on how far apart the two events happened. If they may have happened some time apart, the conjunction -h mat above is used; if one happened right after the other, -cha is used; if they happened at the same time, o- is used. The objective form of -cha is -na. And of course, the forms of o- are osh and on.

Examples with -h mat can be found on pages 9 and 10; in these examples, you can simply translate 'and' instead of 'when', giving, '_ rained and my wash got wet', for example. For examples of -cha and osh see the following:

Yoshoba-cha, filammi-cha, falammi imma ak on ilhkoli-t tok.

They got lost, and turned aside, and went off towards the north.

Binili-na, issoli-tok.

He sat down, and then I hit him.

Hikinyali hosh, hochifoli-tok.

While I was standing, I called him.

Bininlili hon, ala-tok.

While I was sitting, he arrived.

Akpiso ki 'n, Sharon at lachat taha-tok.

While I wasn't watching, Sharon got all wet.

Notice that the o in on and osh are not always pronounced, as in the last example.

To begin a sentence, these conjunctions are used with yohmi. We can change the sentences in the above examples to:

Binili-tok. Yohmi-na, issoli-tok.

Hikinyali-tok. Yohmi hosh, hochifoli-tok.

Bininlili-tok. Yohmi hon, ala-tok.

Akpiso ki-tok. Yohmi hon, Sharon at lachat taha-tok.

Finally, there is the conjunction ak mat or ak man which always begins a sentence, with the meaning 'and'.

Ak man, nanta hon? And what is it?

Ak mat, falammi imma ak on ilhkoli-t tok.

And they went off towards the north.

The Use of Yohmi

The root of this verb is omi meaning 'to be so'. The root occurs in the expression "Omi!" meaning 'okay'. This root takes the prefix y- which cannot be given a meaning, resulting in the verb yomi. This verb is almost always used with the infix -h- which normally means to do something suddenly, as in ahpa 'gulp it down', from apa 'to eat it'. Instead of yohmi, the short forms mi and sometimes i can be used as in

yohmi hatok osh
mi hatok osh
i hatok osh

Besides yohmi, the following forms are sometimes used:

yakohmi
yammohmi

The H

As with the articles, the conjunctions sometimes begin with the letter h, when the preceding word ends in a vowel. This h really is part of the preceding word, but is pronounced with the conjunction. Note the following examples, where the h is pronounced:

yohmih mat
yohmi hatok osh
yohmi ak inlih kiya
hattak ak inli hosh

Joining Noun Phrases

Nominative forms of the conjunctions meaning 'and' are used to join noun phrases, as in the old man and the three boys. These are:

yohmik mat	mik mat
yohmi-cha	mi-cha
ak mat	

Also, the word anonti can be used. Joined noun phrases are often followed by a numeral summing up how many things are involved, or the word aina or

ayina. The numoral is followed by the article.

Tom micha Bill ittitoklo-k at

Tom and Bill

Tom micha Bill micha John isht a-tochchina-k at

Tom and Bill and John

Tom micha Bill micha John micha Bob oshta-k at

Tom, Bill, John and Bob

Tom micha Bill micha John aina hosh

Tom, Bill and John

Hattak atok mat oka pini ak mat chokka aina hon ikbi-tok.

The man built a boat and a house.

Nan alhpowa nokshopa ilappat nashoba yohmik mat kowi.

These wild animals are the wolf and the lion.

Joining Verb Phrases

Verb phrases can be conjoined as in sat down and read a book in John sat down and read a book. One way to do this is to add the nominative case to the first of the two verbs, as in these examples:

Hattak mat tamaha iyat, shapo chompa-tok.

That man went to town and bought a hat.

Hattak mat shapo chompat tamaha iya-tok.

That man went to town to buy a hat.

The first of these sentences is related to the sentence Hattak mat tamaha iyah mat, shapo chompa-tok. 'That man went to town, and he bought a hat (there)'; the second sentence is related to Shapo chompa-k at, hattak mat tamaha iya-tok. 'In order to buy a hat, that man went to town'.

Some common verbs have special short forms when this -t is added to them. Note the following:

bininlit	binint	'sitting'
balilit	balit	'run'
pisat	pist	'see'
pilat	pit	'throw'
hoyot	hot	'seek'
onat	ont	'arrive there'
alat	ant	'arrive here'
ishit	isht	'pick up'
bashat	basht	'gashed'

If two things are happening at the same time, the article osh is used. The o in osh is not always pronounced.

Hikinya hosh hochifoli-tok.

Standing I called him.

Tiwachi hosh hapi ish-ibani.

Stirring you add salt.

Or

To join noun phrases with the meaning 'or', the article chon can be used, as in

Ilappat ofi chon hoshi hon?

Is this a dog or a bird?

It is more usual to say something like "If A, if not, if B, something" to translate "A or B". Note the following examples:

Pankapi atok mat iti ok man, kiyok mat, shawwa kiyok mat, nanna hon aboyya-ahinla hok mat, aba pit aboyyah chatok.

If the grape vine can climb a tree or bush, it climbs up there.

Hattak atok mat tamaha iyak man, kiyok mat, inchokka iyak man, nanna-tok.

That man either went to town or went home.

Kocha ombak man, oktoshak man, nanna amahoba.

I think it will rain or snow.

IV. THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns are words like I you he she it we you all and they. Like the English pronouns, the Choctaw pronouns have three persons (first, second and third) and two numbers (singular and plural). In addition, Choctaw has a paucal number for one pronoun.

The first person includes the speaker: I we; the second person includes the addressee or person spoken to, but not the speaker: you, you all; the third person is the person spoken about: he, she, it, they.

The singular number is used for one person or thing; I, you, he, she, it all refer to only one person or thing. The plural number is used to refer to more than one person or thing; we, you all, they all refer to more than one. The paucal number is used to refer to just a few persons or things.

We use the following symbols to indicate the meanings of pronouns:

1	first person singular	I
2	second person singular	you
3	third person singular	he
1'	first person paucal	we few
1"	first person plural	we
2'	second person plural	you all
3'	third person plural	they

For some dialects of Choctaw, the difference between 1' and 1" is said to be that 1" includes the person spoken to, and means 'you and I'.

In addition, there is the reciprocal 'each other, together', and the reflexive 'oneself'.

We are now ready to list the Choctaw personal pronouns. There are basically two kinds. The independent pronouns are based on the root

no or shno. The dependent pronouns cannot stand alone as words, except in one special case, but are added to other words. There are several sets of dependent personal pronouns; we call each set by the form of the first person singular.

THE CHOCTAW PRONOUNS

	Indep.	SA	SA'	A	AM	AK	LI
1	ano	sa-	sa-	a-	am-	a-k-	-li
2	chishno	chi-	chi-	chi-	chim-	chi-k-	ish-
3	-------	---	i-	i-	im-	i-k-	---
1'	pishno	pi-	pi-	pi-	pim-	k-il-	il-
1"	hapishno	hapi-	hapi-	hapi-	hapim-	k-iloh-	iloh-
2'	hachishno	hachi-	hachi-	hachi-	hachim-	hachi-k-	hash-
3'	---------	-----	i-	i-	im-	i-k-	----
Ref		ili-			ilim-		
Rec		itti-			ittim-		

Notice that there are no third person pronouns for the independent pronouns, the SA series, or the LI series. In the case of the independent pronouns, the articles are used, especially mato and mano, but also pato pano ilappato ilappano yammato yammano in the sense of 'this one' and 'that one' or 'these ones' and 'those ones'. These are used only for emphasis. In the SA, SA' and LI series, the third person is simply understood.

Note also the following points:

1. The only difference between the SA and SA' series is that the SA' series has a prefix for the third person.
2. The only difference between the SA' and A series is that the A series has no s in the first person singular.

3. The AM series is derived from the A series by the suffix -m.

4. The AK series is derived from the A series; the k- is the negative prefix. The exceptions are the first person plural and paucal, which are from the LI series.

5. The second person plural is derived from the second person singular by the prefix ha-.

6. The first person plural is derived from the first person paucal by the prefix ha-, or in the AK and LI series, by the suffix -oh.

Each series of pronouns has its own functions. We describe these below for reference; they are described in more detail in later chapters.

Independent Pronouns These are used like the English personal pronouns. They are used for emphasis only; compare these two examples:

Chishno ato chilachat taha-tok. YOU got all wet.

Chilachat taha-tok. You got all wet.

The SA Series These are added to transitive verbs to indicate the direct object, and to adjectives and participles to indicate the subject.

The SA' Series These are added to nouns (body parts and kin terms) to indicate the possessor. They are also added to postpositions.

The A Series These are used with a few of the body part and kin term nouns.

The AM Series These are added to nouns which denote things one acquires, to indicate the possessor. They are added to verbs to indicate the indirect object.

The LI Series These are added to active verbs to indicate the subject.

The AK Series These are essentially the forms of the LI series used with the negative prefix k-.

Changes in the Affixes

The dependent or affixed pronouns undergo certain modifications when they appear in words. We list these changes here for reference. The LI series--except for the suffix -li--are proclitics, so we always separate them from the following word with a dash. In these examples, we separate the other prefixes with a dash only for convenience.

1. am- changes to sam- whenever it does not begin a word.

am-a	'to give it to me'
is-sam-a	'for you to give it to me'
am-ansha	'for me to have some'
ik-sam-ik-sho	'for me not to have any'
am-pila	'to throw it to me'
ik-sam-pilo	'to not throw it to me'

2. sa- changes to si- before a or o.

sa-pisa	'to see me'
si-apila	'to help me'

3. ish- and hash- change to is- and has- before s.

ish-pisa	'for you to see it'
is-sa-pisa	'for you to see me'
is-sakki	'for you to catch up with him'

4. iloh- changes to iho- before consonants.

iloh-apila	'for us to help him'
iho-pisa	'for us to see him'

5. il- changes to i- before consonants.

il-apila	'for us to help him'
i-pisa	'for us to see him'

Note: The i is long in iho- and i-.

6. The m of the AM series changes to

a. m before m: amminko 'my chief'

b. n before n: annaya 'my fat'

c. n before any other consonant except b and p:

anchokka 'my house'
ampini 'my boat'
ambala 'my beans'

These changes are spelling changes in accord with the rules for spelling nasal vowels; before any consonant, the m is lost and the vowel is lengthened and nasalized.

In addition to these pronouns, there is a second person plural pronoun used in commands or requests; it is the prefix oh-. As in the first person plural forms of the LI series, this oh- changes to ho- before consonants.

ho-minti 'you all come on'
oh-abi 'you all kill it'
oh-apila 'you all help him'

Dialect Differences

There are some dialect differences in the forms and uses of the dependent pronouns. For example, some Choctaws use ihoh- instead of iloh-, and hoh- instead of oh-. Some Choctaws say a-shki 'my mother' and a-ppokni 'my grandmother' with the A series; other Choctaws say sa-shki and sa-ppokni with the SA' series.

V. PRONOUN AFFIXES IN THE NOUN

In Chapter IV we discussed the dependent pronouns, or pronoun affixes, in general. In this and the following chapters we discuss the use of the dependent pronouns in different parts of speech. In this chapter, we discuss their use in nouns of various types.

It is convenient to divide nouns into two large classes, in order to state the general rules for the use of the pronouns. The first class is the alienable class; these nouns refer to things one can acquire and lose in his lifetime--things he owns. The second class is the inalienable class; these nouns refer to things one is born with, or relationships with other people that one is born with, that one cannot acquire or lose. The second class has three major subclasses; nouns refering to body parts, nouns referring to kinfolk, and nouns of orientation. These distinctions will all be clear in the discussion which follows.

The most general rule for the use of the dependent pronouns is the following: To indicate the possessor, alienable nouns take the pronouns of the AM series; a few kin terms take the A series; all other inalienable nouns take the SA' series.

The few exceptions to this rule will be indicated as we discuss each of the noun classes and subclasses. It should be pointed out that we are describing the usage of primarily one dialect; some nouns may be treated a little differently in other dialects.

For convenience, we repeat the chart of the pronouns from Chapter IV, giving only the SA', A and AM series.

PRONOUN AFFIXES IN THE NOUN

	SA'	A	AM
1	sa-	a-	am-
2	chi-	chi-	chim-
3	i-	i-	im-
1'	pi-	pi-	pim-
1"	hápi-	hapi-	hapim-
2'	hachi-	hachi-	hachim-
3'	i-	i-	im-

Alienable Nouns

For examples of the inflection of nouns of this class, we take ofi 'dog', minko 'chief', niya 'fat', chokka 'house', and bala 'beans'.

1	amofi	ammminko	annniya	anchokka	ambala
2	chimofi	chimminko	chinniya	chinchokka	chimbala
3	imofi	immminko	inniya	inchokka	imbala
1'	pimofi	pimminko	pinniya	pinchokka	pimbala
1"	hapimofi	hapimminko	hapinniya	hapinchokka	hapimbala
2'	hachimofi	hachimminko	hachinniya	hachinchokka	hachimbala
3'	imofi	immminko	inniya	inchokka	imbala

All words beginning in a vowel are like ofi; words beginning with m are like minko; words beginning with n are like niya; words beginning with b or p are like bala; words beginning with the other consonants are like chokka. The variations in spelling of the m of the pronouns is in accord with the rules for spelling nasal vowels.

When the thing owned is referred to with a compound noun, like issi hakshop 'deer hide', the possessive pronouns are separate words:

an issi hakshop, chin issi hakshop, in issi hakshop, pin issi hakshop, hapin issi hakshop, hachin issi hakshop, in issi hakshop.

According to Cyrus Byington's dictionary, there used to be a word for 'dog' which took the SA' series to indicate the possessor. This word had the following forms: sapaf, chipaf, ipaf, pipaf, hapipaf, hachipaf, ipaf. This word seems to be no longer used.

Inalienable Nouns

As we said before, these nouns generally take pronoun prefixes of the SA' series, though there are a few kin terms which take the A series, and some exceptions which take the AM series like alienable nouns. Some of these nouns, like nishkin 'eye' can occur without any prefix; others, like ishki 'mother' always have a prefix--ishki is really i-shki 'his mother'.

Nouns of Orientation

These nouns refer to positions with respect to ones body. English nouns of orientation include top, side, and front. They have two uses; one use is illustrated by on the top of, to tell where something is located; the other use is illustrated by the top of the house or the house's top, to say something about the top itself. Compare the man is on top of the house with the top of the house is red. In the first clause, nouns of orientation are used like prepositions (in, under, on); in the second, nouns of orientation are used like other nouns.

Choctaw can use nouns of orientation in these same two ways. In the first use they are postpositions: sapaknaka 'on top of me' from pakna 'top'; as this example shows, they often take a suffix -ka in the postpositional use. In the nominal use they do not take -ka: sapakna 'my top', 'the top of me'.

All nouns of orientation take the SA' series. As examples, we give the forms of tikba 'front' and anshaka 'back side, behind'.

1	satikba	sianshaka
2	chitikba	chianshaka
3	itikba	anshaka
1'	pitikba	pianshaka
1"	hapitikba	hapianshaka
2'	hachitikba	hachianshaka
3'	itikba	anshaka

Most nouns of orientation are like anshaka; they do not take the third person prefix i-; we might say that they take the SA series instead of the SA' series. Note that sa- in anshaka changes to si- because it is followed by a (see rule 2 on page 19).

The nouns of orientation are:

pakna	'top', 'above'	kocha	'outside'
nota	'under'	kochchaka	'outside'
akashtala	'below'	anonka	'inside'
tikba	'front'	anokanka	'just inside'
anshaka	'behind'	bilinka	'near'
olbala	'behind'	lapalika	'beside'
okbala	'behind'	apata	'beside'
		ittintakla	'between, among'

The opposite of bilinka 'near' is the verb hopaki 'to be far from'. To say that something is far from something else, one says something like A being far from B stands or hattak atok mat ohoyo inhopaki hon hikinya 'the man being far from the woman is standing'.

Body Part Nouns

These nouns refer to parts of the body, substances produced by the body, substances of which the body is made, and such concepts as the soul and name. Most of them take the SA' series. As examples, we give

the forms of nishkin 'eye' and tahchi 'shoulder'.

1	sanishkin	sahtahchi
2	chinishkin	chihtahchi
3	inishkin	ihtahchi
1'	pinishkin	pihtahchi
1"	hapinishkin	hachihtahchi
2'	hachinishkin	hachihtahchi
3'	inishkin	ihtahchi

Notice that some nouns like tahchi take an h- prefix when they take the pronoun prefixes. In some nouns, this h- can change into a duplicate of the following consonant, as in sattahchi for sahtahchi. In some nouns, the h- always changes in this way.

In the following list of body parts, if a noun begins with the prefix i- for the third person, it must always have a prefix; otherwise it can occur without the prefix. If a noun takes the prefix h-, this is indicated in parentheses. If the h- can change, this is also indicated in parentheses by giving the sound it changes into. If the h- must change, we give only the sound it changes into.

shakba (h, sh)	'arm'
tahchi (h, t)	'shoulder'
chonkash (h, ch)	'heart'
panshi (p)	'head hair'
choshshak (ch)	'back of the head'
nali (n)	'back'
hatip (h)	'hip'
shanakha (h, sh)	'the back across the shoulders'
takobba (t)	'stomach'
foni (h, f)	'bone'
hayinhchi (h)	'kidney'
shilombish (sh)	'soul'
hanali (h)	'leg'
sanahchi (s)	'wing'
noti (n)	'tooth'
nishkobo	'head'

noshshoka	'face'
nishkin	'eye'
notakfa	'jaw'
notakshish	'whiskers'
nahchaba	'haunch'
naksi	'rib'
hakshop	'skin'
laksha	'sweat'
hohchifo	'name'
ittakha	'mouth'
ittissopi	'cheek'
ibbak	'hand'
ikkishi	'chest'
iffoka	'stomach'
issish	'blood'
iyyi	'foot'
ibishakni	'nose'
ibihchilok	'nostril'
ikonla	'neck'
itambish	'navel'
itokchi	'spittle'
isonlash	'tongue'

There are a few body part terms which are treated like alienable nouns--they take the AM series. These are lopi 'spinal chord, marrow', niya 'fat', hichi 'boil', homi 'gall', anokfila 'mind', shilop 'ghost', lapish 'horn, antler', and hasimbish 'tail'. Some can take either the SA' or the AM series, sometimes with a difference in meaning; issish 'blood in his body', imissish 'blood spilled from his body'; ihakshop 'his skin', inhakshop 'his skin (of some animal)'; issalakka , insalakka 'his liver'; ishshiloppa, inshiloppa 'his lung'.

Again, the details of the treatment of a word may vary from dialect to dialect.

Kin Terms

These nouns are treated like the body part nouns, except that some of them take the A series in some dialects. Like the body part nouns, some always have a prefix, some take the h-, and some change the h- to a duplicate of the following sound. As examples, we give the forms of

pokni 'grandmother' and hayya 'brother's wife'.

1	appokni	sahayya
2	chippokni	chihayya
3	ippokni	ihayya
1'	pippokni	pihayya
1"	hapippokni	hapihayya
2'	hachippokni	hachihayya
3'	ippokni	ihayya

Some nouns which take the A series like pokni are ishki 'mother', mafo 'grandfather', malak 'sister's husband', and monshi 'uncle'. The last three originally had the roots afo, alak and onshi or oshi and took the AM series. But later the m of the AM series was taken to be part of the root, so that they now take the A series. The noun inki 'father' really belongs here too, since historically the root is nki. The forms of this noun are anki chinki inki pinki hapinki hachinki inki. In modern Choctaw, this can be analyzed as the root ki with the AM series.

Here are some additional kin terms; meanings vary in different dialects. These take the SA' series, like hayya.

hokni	'aunt'
hayya	'brother's wife'
nakfish	'younger brother or sister'
ittikchi	'wife'
ippohchi	'father-in-law'
ippohchi ohoyo	'mother-in-law'
iyyop	'daughter's husband'
ibayyi	'nephew'
ibihtik	'niece'
ipok	'granddaughter'
ipok nakni	'grandson'

As with the body part nouns, there are some kin terms which take the AM series. These are alla 'child', nakfi 'a woman's brother'; the following always have the prefix; imohoyo 'wife', inhattak 'husband',

imayokla 'kinsman, tribesman', in chokka chaffa 'husband', inkanomi 'kinsman'.

A few nouns which take the SA' or A series can sometimes be found with the AM series. These are hokni 'aunt',-ɬikchi 'wife'.

VI. NUMBER IN VERBS AND ADJECTIVES

Before going into the uses of the pronoun affixes with verbs and adjectives, we want to point out that some verbs and adjectives have different forms, depending on how many things one is talking about. For example, if you want to say that one person or thing is big, you use the word chito; but if you want to say that more than one person or thing are big, you use the form hochito. We call chito the singular form of the adjective, and hochito the plural form. Here are some more examples:

chito	hochito	big
iskitini	chapinta	little
himitta	himittowa	young
tapa	taptowa	cut in two
falaya	hofaloha	long
achokma	hochokma	good

These are just a few of the common adjectives. Notice that most of them form the plural with the prefix ho- or the suffix -oh or -ow, or both. Not all adjectives have a plural form, for example chaha 'tall'. Also, for some Choctaws, the difference between iskitini and chapinta is the difference between 'little' and 'tiny'.

Some verbs, especially verbs of motion and posture, have different forms for the singular and plural, and even the dual. The dual form is used when you are talking about precisely two persons or things. For example balili 'for one to run', tilhaya 'for two to run' and yilhipa 'for several to run'. For some Choctaws, tilhaya and yilhipa now mean something like 'to run away from' or 'to chase' or 'to run a race'.

Here are some more examples. Not all of these have a dual form.

balili	tilhaya	yilhipa	to run
binili	chiya	binohli	to sit down
		binohmanya	to be sitting
talaya	taloha	talohmanya	to be setting
ittola	kaha	kahmanya	to be lying
hikiya	hili	yohmanya	to stand
takali	takohli	takohmanya	to hang
atta	ashwa	asha	to be there
iya	ittiyachi	alhkoli	to go
hika	hili	hili	to fly
ala	ittalachi	ala	to arrive here
ona	ittonachi	ona	to arrive there
kanalli	hokanalli	hokanalli	to detour
chokkwa	alhto	alhto	to enter
kochcha	kochawiha	kochawiha	to exit

Actually, the Choctaw words translated as 'to be ---ing' should show an [n] before their last consonant, but this is left out for clarity.

There is another way to show number aside from changing the form of the verb itself. This is by placing tokla, a form of the word 'two', after the verb for the dual, and okla 'they' in front of the verb for the plural.

tani tok	he got up
tani tokla tok	they two got up
okla tani tok	they got up
itani tok	we got up
itani tokla tok	we two got up
okla itani tok	we got up

VII. PRONOUN AFFIXES IN ADJECTIVES

Adjectives take a series of prefixes to indicate who the subject is. No verb like 'to be' is used. Compare these examples.

Ano ato sachito.	I am big.
Chishno ato chichito.	You are big.
Hattak mat chito.	That man is big.

By far the greatest number of adjectives take the SA series (page 17-18) of prefixes. We give now examples of chaha 'tall' and chito 'big' in both the affirmative and the negative. The negative is formed by prefixing ik- and suffixing -o. In addition, the next to the last vowel takes the accent, and becomes long if followed by a single consonant. The next to the last vowel of chaha is already long.

1	sachaha	sachito	I am tall, big
2	chichaha	chichito	you are tall, big
3	chaha	chito	he is tall, big
1'	pichaha	pihochito	we are tall, big
1"	hapichaha	hapihochito	we are tall, big
2'	hachichaha	hachihochito	you all are tall, big
3'	chaha	hochito	they are tall, big
1	iksachaho	iksachito	I'm not tall, big
2	ikchichaho	ikchichito	you're not tall, big
3	ikchaho	ikchito	he's not tall, big
1'	ikpichaho	ikpihochito	we're not tall, big
1"	ikhapichaho	ikhapihochito	we're not tall, big
2'	ikhachichaho	ikhachihochito	you're all not tall, big
3'	ikchaho	ikhochito	they're not tall, big

The following are examples of adjectives which take the SA series also.

hohchafo	hungry	tokshila	thirsty
wiki	heavy	nokshila	hoarse
hofobi	deep	haksi	drunk, berserk
kayya	full of food	litiha	dirty
lacha	wet	tikambi	tired
assano	old	tasimbo	crazy
niya	fat	lhamko	strong
kallo	strong	nokwiya	bashfull

A very few adjectives, including takobi 'lazy' and ponna 'adept, skilled' take the AM series to indicate who the subject of the sentence is. Here are a few examples.

Ano ato antakobi.	I am lazy.
Chishno ato chintakobi.	You are lazy.
Hattak mat intakobi.	That man is lazy.
Ano ato talowa kat amponna.	I'm good at singing.

As further examples, we give the affirmative and negative of takobi. Notice that in the negative, am- becomes sam- since it is not the first prefix in the word (page 19).

1	antakobi	iksantakobo	I'm (not) lazy.
2	chintakobi	ikchintakobo	You're (not) lazy.
3	intakobi	ikintakobo	He's (not) lazy.
1'	pintakobi	ikpintakobo	We're (not) lazy.
1"	hapintakobi	ikhapintakobo	We're (not) lazy.
2'	hachintakobi	ikhachintakobo	You're (not) lazy.
3'	intakobi	ikintakobo	They're (not) lazy.

A few adjectives, including hashaya 'mad', nokowa 'mad' and noktalha 'jealous' can have both a subject and an object. In a sentence like 'he is mad at me', he is the subject and me is the object. The SA series is used to indicate the subject, and the AM series is used for the object. Here are a few Choctaw examples.

Ano ato sahashaya.	I am mad.
Ano ato ohoyo man insahashaya.	I am mad at that woman.
Hattak mat hashaya.	That man is mad.
Hattak mat chinhashaya.	That man is mad at you.

Here are examples of various combinations of subjects and objects. First we give the affirmative forms, then the respective negative forms. The negative is formed in the usual way; it takes the prefix ik-, the suffix -o, the accent, and vowel lengthening.

sahashaya	I am mad.
chinsahashaya	I am mad at you.
hachinsahashaya	I am mad at you all.
insahashaya	I am mad at him, them.
iksahashayo	I'm not mad.
ikchinsahashayo	I'm not mad at you.
ikhachinsahashayo	I'm not mad at you all.
ikinsahashayo	I'm not mad at him, them.
hashaya	He, they are mad.
anhashaya	He is mad at me.
chinhashaya	He is mad at you.
inhashaya	He is mad at him.
ikhashayo	He isn't mad.
iksanhashayo	He isn't mad at me.
ikchinhashayo	He isn't mad at you.
ikinhashayo	He isn't mad at him.

Notice that whenever the prefixes come together in the same word, the ik- is first, the AM series is second, and the SA series is last, or closest to the adjective.

The reciprocal prefix of the AM series is ittim-. It is used to express the idea of being mad at each other. With this prefix, the subject is indicated by the LI series (page 17), and the AK series (page 17) in the negative. Here are some examples.

1'	ilittinhashaya	We are mad at each other.
1"	ilohittinhashaya	We are mad at each other.
2'	hashittinhashaya	You are mad at each other.
3'	ittinhashaya	They are mad at each other.
1'	kilittinhashayo	We aren't mad at each other.
1"	kilohittinhashayo	We aren't mad at each other.
2'	hachikittinhashayo	You're not mad at each other.
3'	ikittinhashayo	They aren't mad at each other.

Another group of adjectives can take either the SA series or the AM series. They have slightly different meanings depending on which series of affixes they use. Here are some examples.

Hattak mat achokma.	That man is good.
Hattak mat hatonfalaha imachokma.	That man likes onions.
Kocha yat kapassa.	It's cold outside.
Hattak mat inkapassa.	That man is cold.

With the SA series, okpolo means 'broken' or 'bad'; with the AM series it means 'to dislike'. The adjectives libisha 'warm' and lashpa 'hot' behave like kapassa 'cold'.

VIII. PRONOUNS IN THE VERB

For the purposes of explaining the uses of the prefixes with verbs, it is convenient to classify the verbs into the following classes.

1. the linking verb 'to be'
2. stative verbs and participles
3. impersonal verbs
4. intransitive verbs and numerals
5. transitive verbs
6. ditransitive verbs
7. the verb 'to have'

The Linking Verb

The linking verb is the verb 'to be' used in such sentences as 'he is a man', where the form of 'to be' is followed by a noun or noun phrase. In Choctaw, the linking verb is -a, and it takes the SA series. The linking verb is not used in the third person. Here are some examples.

1	alla sia	I am a child.
2	alla chia	You are a child.
3	alla	He is a child.
1'	alla pia	We are children.
1"	alla hapia	We are children.
2'	alla hachia	You all are children.
3'	alla	They are children.

To form the negative, the linking verb is followed by kiyo 'not'.

Stative Verbs and Participles

Stative verbs and participles also use the SA series to indicate the subject of the sentence. Stative verbs are mostly verbs denoting involuntary acts, like hotilhko

'to cough', howita 'to vomit', habishko 'to sneeze', fiyopa 'to breathe' and nosi 'to sleep'. But the verbs banna 'to want' (which is often shortened to -nna when it has a prefix) and yimmi 'to believe' also go in this class.

When these verbs denote voluntary acts, they take the LI series. Compare these pairs of examples, and notice the difference in meaning when the SA and LI series are used.

sanosi	for me to sleep
nosili	for me to go to sleep
sattola	for me to fall
ittolali	for me to lie down
sahotilhko	for me to cough (involuntarily)
hotilhkoli	for me to cough (on purpose)

Some people do not make this kind of distinction, but rather use the LI series always.

Participles denote the state resulting from some act. For example, for the dish to break is an action; for the dish to be broken is for the dish to be in the condition or state resulting from the act of breaking. In the next chapter there are many examples of participles. For now we give the following examples: kobafa 'to be broken', nalha to be stung', tiwa 'to be open'.

Stative verbs and participles have forms just like those of adjectives which take the SA series, so we won't give any examples here.

Impersonal Verbs

Impersonal verbs have to do with the weather, or the time of day, and never have pronoun affixes. Examples are omba 'to rain', oktosha 'to snow', mahli 'for the wind to blow', hiloha 'to thunder', malahta 'to lightening', onna 'to dawn' and oklhili 'to night-fall'. Negative forms are ikombo, ikhiloto, ikonno and so forth. These are formed in the same way as for adjectives, with the prefix ik-, suffix -o, the accent, and vowel lengthening.

Intransitive Verbs and Numerals

Intransitive verbs denote actions like standing, running, crying, and arriving, which take only a subject, no object. They take the LI series in the affirmative, and the AK series in the negative (page 17). When the stative verbs are used to describe voluntary acts, they are really intransitive verbs. Here are the affirmative and negative forms of the verb bininli 'to be sitting'. The particle kiyo can be used instead of the negative forms, or it can follow the negative forms.

1	bininlili	akbininlo	I'm (not) sitting
2	ishbininli	chikbininlo	You're ...
3	bininli	ikbininlo	He's ...
1'	ibinohmanya	kibinohmanyo	We're ...
1"	ihobinohmanya	kihobinohmanyo	We're ...
2'	hashbinohmanya	hachikbinohmanyo	You're ...
3'	binohmanya	ikbinohmanyo	They're ...

Numerals are used to tell how many there are of something. Usually all numerals except achaffa 'one' take the LI series, while achaffa uses the linking verb (page 35). Here are some examples.

Ano ato pi achaffa sia.	I am just one.
Hachishno ato hashlawa.	You are many.
Hapishno ato ilontochchina.	We are eight.

The prefixes are used as with the intransitive verbs, so we don't need to give examples here. To form the negative, there is a tendency to use only the word kiyo 'not' after the numeral.

The numerals include the numbers from one to ten (achaffa, toklo, tochchina, oshta, talhlhapi, hannali, ontoklo, ontochchina, chakkali, pokkoli), hundred (talhipa), and such words as lawa 'many', achaffoha, achaffonha, achaffonwa 'few', kanohmi 'some', kaniomi 'some', katohmi 'how many?', and so forth.

Numerals and intransitive verbs can also take the SA series reciprocal prefix itti-, which then means 'together', as in ilittitoklo 'we two together'.

Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs, like intransitive verbs, denote actions. They occur in sentences like the following:

Hattak mat ofi isso tok. 'That man hit a dog.'

In such a sentence, hattak mat or 'that man' is the subject or actor, and ofi or 'a dog' is the object. With transitive verbs, the SA series is used to refer to the object, and the LI series is used to refer to the subject. To form the negative, kiyo can be used after the verb, or the negative form of the verb can be used, or both. In the negative, the AK series is used to refer to the actor (page 17, 18). We give here some examples with the verb pinsa 'to see'. We give first a set of affirmative forms, and then the corresponding negatives.

chipinsali	I see you
hachipinsali	I see you all
pinsali	I see him, them
akchipiso	I don't see you
akhachipiso	I don't see you all
akpiso	I don't see him, them
issapinsa	you see me
ishpipinsa	you see us
ishpinsa	you see him, them
chiksapiso	you don't see me
chikpipiso	you don't see us
chikpiso	you don't see him, them

These verbs can also take the reflexive prefix ili- of the SA series, as in ilipinsali 'I see myself', hashilipinsa 'you all see yourselves'; and also the reciprocal prefix

itti- as in ilittipinsa 'we see each other', ittipinsa 'they see each other'. Negatives of these are formed regularly: akilipiso, hachikilipiso, kilittipiso, ikittipiso.

Ditransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs took a subject, transitive verbs took a subject and an object, and ditransitive verbs take a subject, an object and an indirect object. The subject is usually an actor, and the indirect object is a person who receives the object. In the following sentence, hattak mat 'that man' is the subject, alla man 'that child' is the indirect object, and holisso 'a book' is the object.

Hattak mat alla man holisso inkanchi tok.

'That man sold that child a book.'

Some ditransitive verbs are kanchi 'to sell', apila 'to throw to', ima 'to give', anoli 'to tell', and so forth.

Ditransitive verbs use the SA series for the object (since this is almost always in the third person, there is rarely a SA series prefix), the AM series for the indirect object, and the LI series for the subject. In the negative, the AK series is used for the subject. Here are some examples.

anolili	I tell it
chimanolili	I tell it to you
hachimanolili	I tell it to you all
imanolili	I tell it to him, them
akanolo	I don't tell it
akchimanolo	I don't tell it to you
akhachimanolo	I don't tell it to you all
akimanolo	I don't tell it to him, them
anoli	he tells it
amanoli	he tells it to me
chimanoli	he tells it to you

ikanolo	he doesn't tell it
iksamanolo	he doesn't tell it to me
ikchimanolo	he doesn't tell it to you

The reflexive prefix of the AM series is ilim-, and the reciprocal prefix is ittim-. Examples of their use are: ilimanolili 'I tell it to myself', hashilimanoli 'you all tell it to yourselves', ilittimanoli 'we tell it to each other', and ittimanoli 'they tell each other'.

The Verb 'To Have'

The various ways of expressing the idea of 'having' will be discussed in detail in the paper on Choctaw syntax of this series. Here we give only a brief introduction.

There is no verb in Choctaw corresponding to the English verb 'to have'. Instead, the posture verbs (binili 'to sit', ittola 'to lie', talaya 'to set', hikiya 'to stand', takali 'to hang'), the numerals (page 37), and the verb of location (atta 'to be there', 'for there to be') are used. Most of these have singular, dual and plural forms, given on page 30.

When used with the meaning 'to have', these verbs take a subject and an object. The subject is the person who has something, and the object is the thing or things he has. Both subject and object are in the nominative case (page 3), so both take the articles with the suffix -t or -sh (page 4). The verb or numeral takes the AM series to indicate who the subject is. Here are some examples.

Hattak mat takkon intalanya.	'That man has an apple (setting).'
Ofi toklo kat anchinya.	'I have two dogs (sitting).'
Tabi lanwa kat chinyohmanya.	'You have many canes (standing).'
Ano ato ofi at amachaffa.	'I have one dog.'
Chishno ato ofi at chintochchina.	'You have three dogs.'
Ofi toklo kat amanshwa.	'I have two dogs.'
Ofi achaffa kat amantta.	'I have one dog.'
Ofi lanwa kat chimansha.	'You have many dogs.'

Notice that the singular, dual and plural forms are used to tell how many objects there are.

The negatives are formed in the usual way, except for the plural of atta, asha. This is discussed below in the section on short verbs.

The Short Verbs

There are a few verbs which consist of a short [a] followed by a consonant and a vowel which lose the short [a] whenever there is a prefix. These verbs are abi 'to kill', ala 'to arrive here', amo 'to crop (hair, grass, etc.)', and apa 'to eat'. A similar verb which does not loose its short [a] is ani 'to fill'. As examples, here are a few forms of the verbs abi and ala.

abi	ikbo	he kills him (not)
sabi	iksabo	he kills me (not)
chibi	ikchibo	he kills you (not)
hashbi	hachikbo	you all kill him (not)
issabi	chiksabo	you kill me (not)
alali	aklo	I arrive (not)
ishla	chiklo	you arrive (not)
ala	iklo	he arrives (not)

In the negative, the accent and vowel lengthening fall on the next to the last vowel of the verb root in most verbs. In these verbs, the next to the last vowel of the root is the short [a]. But this is dropped out in the negative, so the accent and lengthening fall on whatever happens to be the next to the last vowel. Remember that lengthening occurs only if the next to the last vowel is followed by a single consonant (see page 31 and Chapter X).

Asha, the plural of atta 'to be there, for there to be', also looses its short [a] in the negative. Its basic negative form is iksho, but when it also has a prefix, it takes a double negative. This can best be explained by examples.

The negative iksho is also used in the singular in place of ikatto, which is not used.

anttali	iksaksho	I am (not) there
ishantta	ikchiksho	you are (not) there
antta	iksho	he is (not) there
ilansha	kiliksho	we are (not) there
hashansha	ikhachiksho	you are (not) there
ansha	iksho	they are (not) there

amansha	iksamiksho	I have (not)
chimansha	ikchimiksho	you have (not)
hachimansha	ikhachimiksho	you all have (not)
imansha	ikimiksho	he has (not), they have (not)

Instead of kiliksho, some people say ikpiksho.

The Loss of Short [i]

When a verb beginning with a short [i] has a prefix ending in a vowel, the short [i] is lost. Compare these forms.

isso	to hit him
ilisso	for us to hit him
sasso	to hit me
chisso	to hit you

ipita	to feed him
hashipita	for you to feed him
sapita	to feed me
pipita	to feed us

IX. VERBS, PARTICIPLES AND CAUSATIVES

In the previous chapter we discussed participles (pages 35, 36) and various kinds of verbs. In this chapter we discuss the relationship between verbs and participles, and between various kinds of verbs.

Sometimes a single root can be the foundation for both a participle and a transitive verb. For example, compare the following pairs of verbs:

amo	to mow or crop, like hair or grass
almo	to be mown, cropped
bashli	to cut a gash in something
basha	for something to have a gash in it
awashli	to fry something
alwasha	to have been fried

The difference is something like this: If I go out and cut the grass, while I am cutting it, I can say that I am amo-ing it. When I am through, I can say that the grass is almo. While I am frying pies, I can say that I am awashli-ing them. When I am finished, I can say that the pies are alwasha. In other words, the verbs amo, bashli and awashli are used to describe actions which change the condition of something, while participles like almo, basha and alwasha are used to describe the condition something is in after the change has occurred.

There is a second meaning that participles can have. This is that they can be used as intransitive verbs. In this use, they describe the object as changing its condition, but no mention is made of the person or force causing the change. Here are some examples of this kind of meaning:

awashli	for someone to fry it
alwasha	for it to fry
kobaffi	for someone to break it
kobafa	for it to break

There are three ways to show the difference between transitive verbs and the corresponding participles (or intransitive verbs). These three ways are illustrated by the examples we have used. The first way is to add the infix -l- to a root to form the participle; this is illustrated by the pair amo almo. The second way is to add the suffix -li to the root for the transitive verb, and -a to the root for the participle; this is illustrated by the pair bashli basha. The third way is to use a combination of the first two ways, by adding -li to the root for the transitive verb, and adding both the suffix -a and the infix -l- to the root for the participle; this is illustrated by the pair awashli alwasha.

When these affixes are added to a root, sometimes the root or the affix or both change their pronunciation. For example, the infix -l- is sometimes pronounced -lh-. We will first give examples of pairs of transitive verbs and participles, and then describe these pronunciation changes.

The following words are like amo almo; they simply add the infix to the root to form the participle. We list only the meaning of the transitive verb.

abani	albani	to barbeque
habina	halbina	to accept a gift
hokchi	holokchi	to plant
hoppi	holoppi	to bury
hossi	holossi	to pound
hoyya	holoyya	to drip
takchi	talakchi	to tie up
tana	tanna	to weave
apisa	alhpisa	to set a date for
hoponi	holhponi	to cook
hotina	holhtina	to count
apitta	alhpitta	to put into a container
achifa	ahchifa	to wash
hochifo	hohchifo	to name, to read

The following words are like bashli basha; they add -li to the root for the transitive verb, and -a for the participle. Again, we list only the meaning of the transitive verb.

tahli	taha	to finish
tabli	tapa	to cut in two
oktabli	oktapa	to dam up, to detour
nokshobli	nokshopa	to scare
shibli	shipa	to stretch
bicholli	bichota	to bend
malhalli	malhata	to scare
palhlhi	palha	to split
polhlhi	polha	to fold
halhlhi	halha	to kick
lhitoffi	lhitofa	to unravel
kobaffi	kobafa	to break in two
loffi	lofa	to peel
tokaffi	tokafa	to fire a gun
mitaffi	mitafa	to bleed
fammi	fama	to spank [food
loshommi	loshoma	to take the last piece of
ittahobbi	ittahoba	to assemble
fokki	fokka	to put inside

The following words are like awashli alwasha; they add -li to the root for the transitive verb, and both the suffix -a and the infix -l- for the participle. As before, only the meaning of the transitive verb is given.

akammi	alhkama	to stopper
atahli	alhtaha	to finish
aposhli	alhposha	to parch
atobbi	alhtoba	to pay
akalli	alhkata	to patch
anoli	annowa	to tell
achonli	ahchonwa	to sew
afohli	ahfoha	to wind around

Now we will give some of the rules for the changes in pronunciation which occur when the affixes are added to different roots.

The Infix -l-

Suppose we add -l- to hokchi; the result should be holkchi. Whenever this -l- comes in front of two consonants like it does here, the vowel in front of -l- is repeated after it. So holkchi is pronounced and written holokchi. This also happens with takchi, hoppi, hoyya and hossi.

Suppose we add -l- to tana; the result should be talna. But whenever -l- comes before [n], it changes to -n-. So talna is pronounced and written tanna. This also happens when -l- is added to anowa; alnowa becomes annowa.

Whenever -l- comes before a voiceless sound like [p], [t] or [k], it changes to -lh-. So holtina changes to holhtina, holponi changes to holhponi, and alkama changes to alhkama.

This same change happens before [ch], [sh], [s] and [f], but it goes a step further. Before these sounds, the -lh- changes to -h-. So holchifo becomes first holhchifo, then hohchifo; and alfoha becomes first alhfoha, then ahfoha. Some Choctaws go even a step further, and change this -h- to be like the following sound. That is, they change hohchifo to hochchifo, and ahfoha to affoha.

The Suffix -li

When the suffix -li is added to a root, either the root may change, or the suffix may change.

When -li comes after two consonants, the [l] is lost. For example, fokkli is written and pronounced fokki; compare fokka.

When the suffix -li follows [b], [f], [m], [w] or [lh] it changes into that sound. For example, atobli changes into atobbi, kobafli changes into kobaffi, famli changes into fammi, tiwli changes into tiwwi 'to open a door' (the participle of this last word is tiwa), and halhli changes into halhlhi. These words and several others like them can be found in the lists given above.

The sound [p] changes to [b], and [t] changes to [l], whenever they are followed by -li. So tapli changes into tabli (participle: tapa), and bichotli changes into bicholli (participle: bichota). Some people don't change [p], so they say tapli, nokshopli, shipli and so forth.

The Suffix -a

Whenever this suffix follows a vowel, either [w] or

[y] is places between them. It seems that [w] is inserted after the vowel [o]: anoa changes to anowa and then inserts -l- giving annowa; compare the transitive verb anoli. In other cases, it might be correct to say that a [w] or [y] is lost before the suffix -li: achonwli changes to achonli (participle: ahchonwa) and chanyli changes to chanli 'to saw" (participle: chanya).

Causatives

Causatives have the meaning of causing or making something do something, or be some way. They are formed by adding the suffixes -chi and -li to verbs, participles and adjectives. Here are some examples.

okcha	to wake up, to awaken
okchali	to wake someone up
homma	to be red
hommachi	to make something red
habina	to accept something as a gift
habinachi	to present someone with a gift
pisa	to see
pisachi	to show something to someone (i. e., to cause them to see it)

There are a few verbs which change a final [a] to either [o] or [i] when the causative suffix -li is added to them. Here are a few common ones.

sita	to have the hair tied up
sitili	to tie up the hair
noksita	to choke on something
noksitili	to choke someone
anompa	to be said
anompoli	to say something, to talk
alhtoka	to be elected
atokoli	to elect, appoint
wakaya	to rise
wakili	to raise

It should be clear from these examples that the difference between a causative verb and a non-causative is very similar to the difference between a transitive verb and the corresponding participle or intransitive verb.

X. VERBAL INFIXES

Verbals (verbs, adjectives, numerals and participles) can take a number of infixes or internal changes. To illustrate these internal changes, we list the various forms of takchi 'to tie'.

takchi	to tie it
tánkchi	to be tying it
tahákchi	to tie it all of a sudden
tahánkchi	to keep tying it, tie it several times
táyyakchi	to finally tie it, to tie it all up
tákchi cha	to tie it and then ...

There are several internal changes which can be made. The infixes -n-, -h- and -y- may be added; they are added after the next to the last vowel of the verbal. This same vowel may take the accent [´] (see A Choctaw Orthography, page 9); sometimes this accent changes into a falling accent [ˆ]. Or the vowel may be made long (see A Choctaw Orthography, page 3); we will write such lengthened vowels like this: [a·]. The falling accent can be heard in such words as bî·ka 'always' and fî·na 'very'.

On the next page is a chart giving the different forms of a number of verbals. The chart shows that the internal changes do not always have the same pronunciation. For example, the y-form of binili is different from that of takchi. In what follows, we will discuss each of the internal changes, and the different ways it is pronounced and spelled. Then we will give the forms of some irregular verbals. Finally we will list some verbals which always have the y-form.

CHART OF INTERNAL CHANGES

Plain Form	takchi	falama	wa·ya	apa	ona	ishi	impa
N-Form	tánkchi	faláⁿma	wá·nya	ámpa	ónna	ínshi	ímpa
H-Form	tahákchi	faláhma	wáhya	áhpa	óhna	íshshi	ihímpa
HN-Form	tahánkchi	falaháⁿma	wahánya	ahámpa	ohónna	ihínshi	ihímpa
Y-Form	táyyakchi	fálla·ma	wáyya·ya	áyya·pa	óyyo·na	î·shi	î·mpa
High Form	tákchi	falá·ma	wá·ya	á·pa	ó·na	í·shi	ímpa

Vowel length has been marked only when it is basic to the pronunciation of the verbal root or when it is an integral part of the internal change. Predictably long vowels are not marked.

The verbals used in this chart are takchi 'to tie up'; falama 'to return'; wa·ya 'to grow (of plants)'; apa 'to eat'; ona 'to arrive there'; ishi 'to pick up'; and impa 'to dine'.

The N-Form

To make the n-form of a verbal, add the accent and nasalization to the next to the last vowel of the verbal. The main variation is the variation in spelling of nasal vowels (see A Choctaw Orthography, page 6). If the vowel is already nasal, the only change is the accent. Here are examples of plain forms and n-forms.

apa	ámpa	to eat
falama	falámma	to return
ona	ónna	to arrive there
takchi	tánkchi	to tie up
impa	ímpa	to dine
chanli	chánli	to saw

When the nasal vowel is followed by [k] or [h], and these are followed by [b], [m], [n], or [l], the [k] can become [g] and the [h] can drop out (see A Choctaw Orthography, page 8, Section VI). The resulting [ng] is pronounced like [ng] in the English word 'sing'.

ikbi	ínkbi	to make (pronounced íngbi)
tahli	tánhli	to finish (pronounced tánli)

The H-Form

To form the h-form of a verbal, add the accent to the next to the last vowel, and put the infix -h- after the vowel. This infix undergoes several changes, some of them like those which affect the participle infix -l- (pages 45, 46).

The infix appears in its normal form in the following words: ona óhna 'to arrive there', pila píhla 'to throw', lawa láhwa 'many'.

If the vowel in front of the -h- is originally long, it becomes short: wa·ya wáhya 'to grow', cha·ha cháhha 'tall'.

If -h- comes before any of the following sounds, it may be pronounced like it: [f], [s], [sh], [lh], [ch]. Not all Choctaws make this change in the pronunciation of -h-.

Examples are as follows:

hochifo	hochíhfo	or hochíffo	to call
ishi	íhshi	or íshshi	to pick up
nosi	nóhsi	or nóssi	to sleep
pisachi	pisáhchi	or pisáchchi	to show

Suppose we add the infix -h- to takchi; the result would be táhkchi. Whenever this -h- comes in front of two consonants, as it does here, the vowel in front of -h- is repeated after it, taking the accent with it. So táhkchi is written and pronounced tahákchi. Here are more examples: fammi fahámmi 'to spank', issa ihíssa 'to cease', shi'bli shihíbli 'to stretch'.

The HN-Form

This form is made by using both the -n- infix and the -h- infix. Suppose we want to form the hn-form of apa 'to eat'; this would be áhmpa. Since the -h- will always be before two consonants, there will be the same change as is shown in tahákchi; áhmpa will change to ahámpa. The hn-form is very regular. Here are some examples:

apa	ahámpa	to eat
falama	falahámma	to return
ona	ohónna	to arrive there
takchi	tahánkchi	to tie up
impa	ihímpa	to dine
chanli	chahánli	to saw
ikbi	ihínkbi	to make (pronounced ihíngbi)
tahli	tahánhli	to finish (pronounced tahánli)

The Y-Form

To describe the formation of the y-form, we must first group verbals into two main groups. The first group contains all verbals which are more than two syllables long, and have only one consonant in front of the next to the last vowel. Examples are binili kobafa anoli okchamali. The second group contains all verbals which are one or two syllables long, like ona takchi lawa pisa, or which are more than two syllables long but have two consonants in front of the next to the last vowel, like oktabli nokshopa toksali alhtaha. We can call these Group 1 and Group 2.

The formation of the y-form can be broken up into four steps. The first step applies only to Group 2 verbals.

Step 1: For Group 2 verbals, double the next to the last vowel and put -y- between the doubled vowel: ona becomes oyona.

Step 2: Add the accent to the third vowel from the end of the verbal: oyona becomes óyona and binili becomes bínili.

Step 3: Lengthen the next to the last vowel if it is followed by a single consonant: óyona becomes óyo·na and bínili becomes bíni·li; but kóbaffi remains, since the next to the last vowel is followed by two consonants.

Step 4: Double the consonant after the accented vowel: óyo·na becomes óyyo·na, and bíni·li becomes bínni·li.

Here are some more examples of the plain and y-forms of verbals:

okchamali	okchámma·li	blue
anoli	ánno·li	to tell
kobafa	kóbba·fa	to break
binili	bínni·li	to sit
kobaffi	kóbbaffi	to break it

takchi	táyyakchi	to tie up
oktabli	oktáyyabli	to dam up
nokshopa	nokshóyyo·pa	to be scared
ona	óyyo·na	to arrive there
lawa	láyya·wa	many

Group 2 verbals with the vowel [i] have a modified form. For example, the y-form of pisa 'to see' is pî·sa, not píyyisa as one would expect. The reason for this is that after Step 3, when the form would be píyi·sa, the -y- drops out, and the two [i] sounds contract with a falling accent. Here are some more examples:

pisa	pî·sa	to see
pila	pî·la	to throw
chito	chî·to	big
issa	î·ssa	to cease
impa	împa	to dine

Before discussing some minor variations, we will describe the formation of the y-form in a different way, which does not use steps. For Group 2, use the following summary:

Vowel of the Plain Form	Y-Form before One Consonant	Y-Form before Two Consonants
i	î·	î·
a	áyya·	áyya
o	óyyo·	óyyo

For Group 1 we will use the symbols V́CV for the accented vowel, the consonant following it, and the next to the last vowel. Then the following summary will do:

Before one consonant, V́CV changes to V́CCV·

Before two consonants, V́CV changes to V́CCV

Now we will describe some minor variations. A few words of Group 2 have alternate forms like those of Group 1. For example, pila 'to throw' has two y-forms, pî·la and pílla.

Words of Group 2 which have [sh] or [ch] before the accented vowel usually change the accented vowel to [i]; thus shávya·li (from shali 'to carry') is usually pronounced shívya·li, and chóyyo·mi (from chóhmi 'somewhat') is usually pronounced chíyyo·mi.

There are three classes of words which always appear in-forms which seem to be y-forms. The first of these is the class of possessive pronouns, which use the Group 1 y-form: ámmi, chímmi, ímmi, pímmi, hapímmi, hachímmi.

The second class contains the adverbs bílli·ya 'always', bî·ka 'frequently', pólla 'surely' and fî·na 'very'. The recent past tense is indicated with the enclitic -tok. There is another remote past tense which seems to be the y-form of this, namely -tto·k. Compare pisali-tok 'I saw it (recently)' and pisalitto·k 'I saw it (quite a while ago)'. All of these words come after verbals.

Many of the numerals appear to be in the y-form also. These are acháffa tóchchi·na tálhlha·pi hánna·li chákka·li pókko·li, but not tóklo, óshta or talhipa (page 37).

The High Form

The high form has no meaning; it is the form automatically used with the conjunctions cha and na (the y-form can also be used), in the negative forms, and in exhortations (Chapter XI). The next to the last vowel takes the accent, and is lengthened if followed by only one consonant. Here are some examples.

takchi	tákchi cha	to tie up
	iktákcho	to not tie
apa	á·pa cha	to eat
ona	ó·na cha	to arrive there
	ikó·no	to not arrive there

Irregular Verbs

The three verbals chokkwa 'to enter', akkwa 'to get down', and aywa 'to gather' all show the same kind of

irregularity; they use the forms chokkowa, akkowa and ayowa with the infixes and other internal changes. As an example, here are the forms of chokkwa.

chokkwa	plain form
chokkónwa	n-form
chokkóhwa	h-form
chokkohónwa	hn-form
chokkóyyo·wa	y-form
chokkó·wa cha	high form

There are several verbals meaning 'to say'. They all use the root a. They are a achi ali maka makachi makali. The forms of a and maka are irregular in that the internal changes are applied to the last vowel. I have heard only the hn- and plain forms of these two. They are maka makahán, a ahán. Alternately, the hn-forms can be makahánya ahánya.

A few verbals never seem to be used without some internal change. For example yóhmi is the h-form of yomi, but yomi is never used. Other forms are yohómmi and yómmi.

The plain form of asha does not seem to be used either, only the n-, hn- and y-forms: ánsha ahánsha áyya·sha. The y-form is sometimes pronounced íyya·sha.

The short verbs (page 41) make the internal change on whatever vowel happens to be next to the last. Sometimes this is a prefix vowel. We illustrate this by giving the forms of abi 'to kill him', ishbi 'for you to kill him', i·bi 'for us to kill him' and sabi 'to kill me'.

plain form	abi	ishbi	i·bi	sabi
n-form	ámbi	ínshbi	ímbi	sámbi
h-form	áhbi	ihíshbi	íhbi	sáhbi
hn-form	ahámbi	ihínshbi	ihímbi	sahámbi
y-form	áyya·bi	í·shbi	í·bi	sáyya·bi
high form	á·bi cha	íshbi cha	í·bi cha	sá·bi cha

Although these are the usual forms, some people first make the internal changes on the root abi and then add the prefixes. They say ilámbi instead of ímbi, for example.

XI. COMMANDS AND EXHORTATIONS

The simple command is used to tell someone to do or not to do something. In the affirmative, it takes the prefix ho- or oh- (see page 20), and falling accent on the last vowel.

takchî	hotakchî	Tie it up!
pilâ	hopilâ	Throw it!
ishî	ohishî	Pick it up!
abî	hobî	Kill it!

In the negative, it takes the normal prefixes ish- and hash-, the suffix -nna and final falling accent.

ishtakchinnâ	hashtakchinnâ	Don't tie it up!
ishpilannâ	hashpilannâ	Don't throw it!
ishishinnâ	hashishinnâ	Don't pick it up!
ishbinnâ	hashbinnâ	Don't kill it!

To make a more polite command, or to get someone to do something for his own good, the usual prefixes are used with the conjunction -k man: ishtakchik mân, hashtakchik mân.

Exhortations use the AK series prefixes, the high form of the verbal (page 55), and the word na with the falling accent.

aktákchi nâ	Let me tie it up!
iktákchi nâ	Let him tie it up!
kitákchi nâ	Let us tie it up! Let's ...
akpí·la nâ	Let me throw it!